''S heeren architect ende steenhouwer': Melchior van Herbach and the Breda Wall in the Rijksmuseum

• IRIS IPPEL •

The Breda Wall in the Rijksmuseum's Philips Wing (fig. 1) takes its name from the origin of the lowest part of the wall: one of the façades of the stable block of the former Nassau Palace in Breda. The palace, now known as the Castle of Breda, has been the home of the Royal Military Academy (KMA) since 1828. In the eighteen-eighties the stone sections of the stable wall were transported to Amsterdam, where Pierre Cuypers (1827-1921) built them into the east wall of the former Fragments Building along with one seventeenth- and four eighteenth-century facing bricks. This wall was expertly restored during the rebuilding of the Philips Wing between April 2013 and September 2014.[1]

The bottom part of the wall dates from the first quarter of the seventeenth century and in its present form consists of five bays. The bays are separated by Doric pilasters with inverted corbels which 'support' an entablature with a sandstone architrave and cornice and a brick frieze. The use of corbels on top of columns is unusual because they originally had a supporting function, like the crowning capital on the column. The pilasters of the two wide bays are connected by basket arches, below which are sandstone rounded arch gates. The gates are flanked by Ionic three-quarter columns, covered with a pediment which is interrupted by a rectangular transom window. The right portal has a double transom topped off by a triangular pediment and the left portal has a single transom with a circular pediment on top. The three narrower bays contain round arches, each with a cross window – a window divided into four by a stone middle post and a transom. The windows are ornamented with curved sandstone spandrels.

The imaginative combination of classical disciplines and sculpturally modern ornamentation allows us to date the Breda Wall to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Similar examples from this period are the Munt Tower and the Noorderkerk, Westerkerk and Zuiderkerk in Amsterdam by, or attributed to, Hendrick de Keyser (1565-1621) and the Waag in Leiden by Lieven de Key (c. 1560-1627). In this article I endeavour to attribute the central wall to Melchior van Herbach (1579-after 1624/before 1639), a builder who started his career in Amsterdam and became Prince Maurice's architect and master builder.

The Palace at Breda

The Nassau Palace in Breda, which was started in 1536, is one of the earliest antique buildings in this modern style north of the Alps. Count Henry III of Nassau (1483-1538) had it built by

Detail of fig. 1.

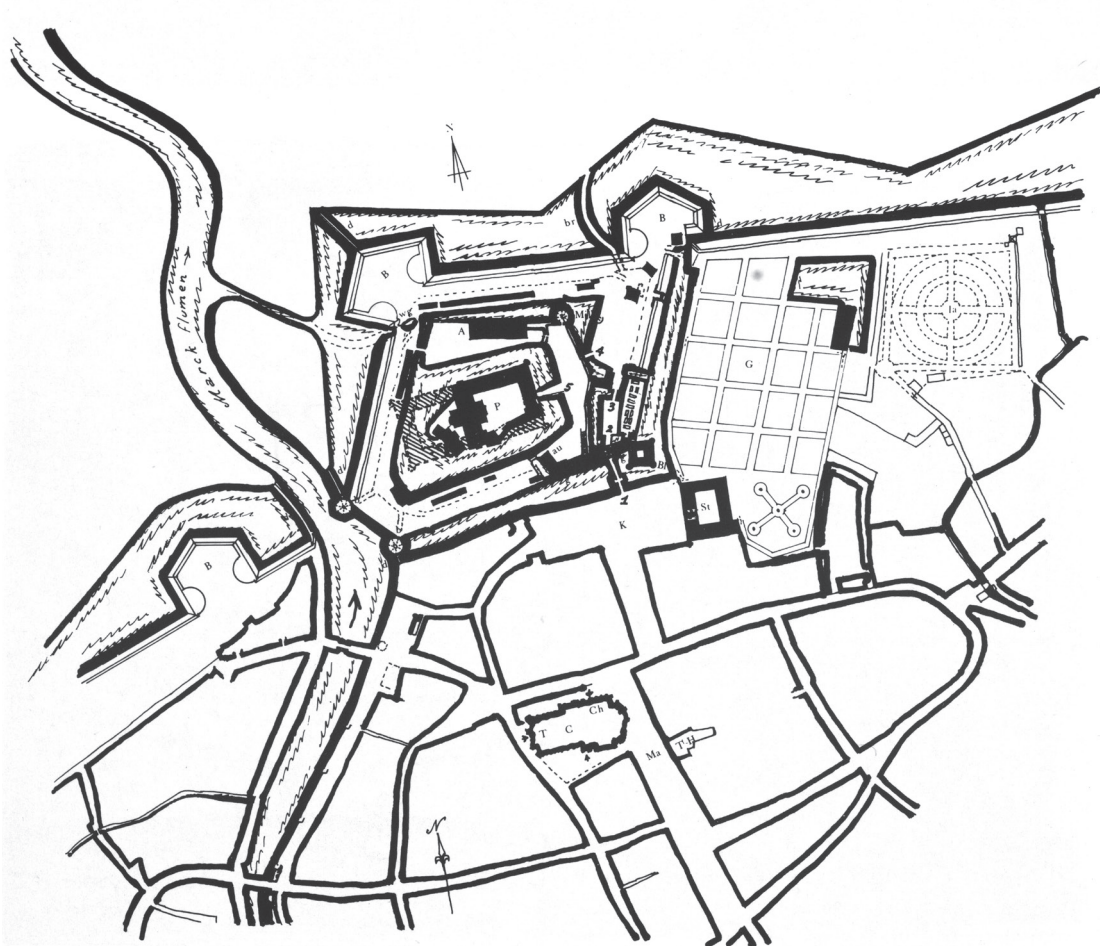
Fig. 1
P.J.H. CUYPERS, *The Breda Wall*, c. 1885. Brick and sandstone, c. 18 x 4.5 m. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (Philips Wing). The lower part is attributed to MELCHIOR VAN HERBACH, *Façade of the Nassau Palace Stable Complex*, c. 1620, Breda. The restoration of this wall was made possible with the support of the American Express Foundation. Photo: Rijksmuseum.

Tommaso de Vincidor (1493-1536) of Bologna. The stable complex, which was originally in the Kasteelplein, also dates from this period. It was situated beyond the castle moat, at the most south-westerly point of the Valkenberg, the courtyard that lies to the east of the palace (fig. 2). The wall now in the Rijksmuseum was the northern façade of the stable complex and overlooked the courtyard. Until 1535 it contained the old Begijnhof, which Henry III had demolished because he thought that it was too close to the castle: 'Such because diverse buildings of churches and houses which the Beguines have made may put our required castle at a great disadvantage in time of war and disharmony.'[2]

According to a description of a visit by the papal nuncio Petrus Vorstius to Henry III in Breda in 1537, the stable complex had been completed in that same year. Vorstius was the Bishop of Acqui in North Italy and also the parish priest of Breda.[3]

As can be seen from the floor plan, which P.W. Schonck made in 1768 (fig. 3), the stable complex consisted of a number of separate buildings: a stable block, a fives' court, a coach house and gardeners' quarters.[4] The bottom part of the Breda Wall in the Rijksmuseum contains stone fragments of the façade of the gardeners' quarters. This seventeenth-century façade adjoining the courtyard replaced the outside wall that Vorstius had seen less than a century

Fig. 2
Floor plan of the Breda palace and the Valkenberg around 1590.
Photo: W. Kuyper, *The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture into the Netherlands*, vol. 2 [illustrations], Alphen aan den Rijn 1994, [no page number] fig. no. 37. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Research Library, 623 c 31.



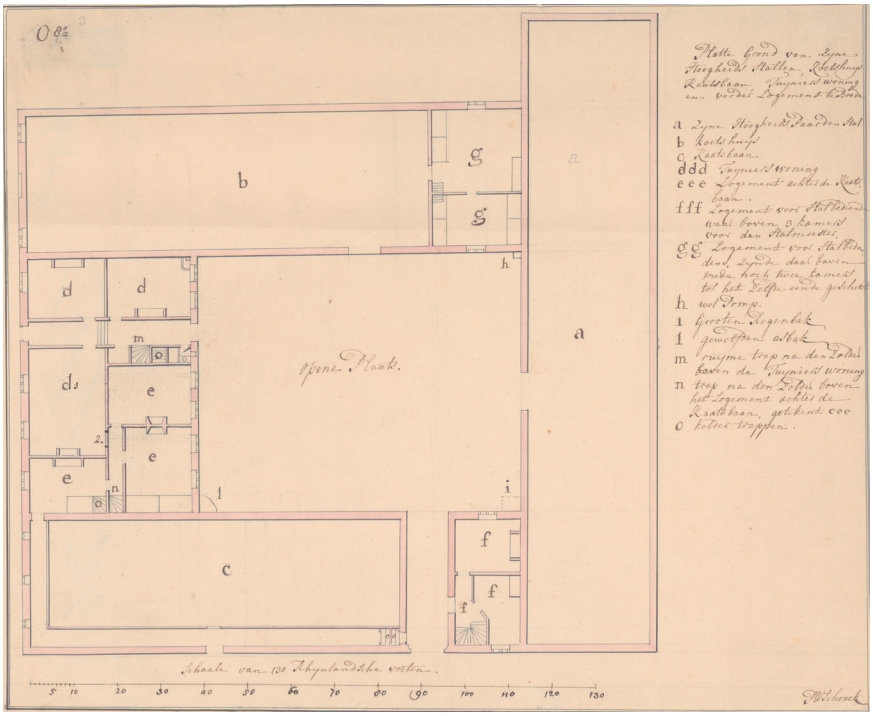


Fig. 3
P.W. SCHONCK,
His Highness's Stables, Coach House, Fives' Court, Gardener's Dwelling and Additional Guesthouse at Breda, Breda (?), 1768.
Den Bosch, Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, inv. no. 343.1990.

earlier. It originally had seven bays with three portals and two windows on each side of the middle portal (fig. 4).

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century the palace had two owners: Philip William (1554-1618) and Maurice (1567-1625), the sons of William of Orange (1533-1584). William had inherited the palace in Breda from his cousin René of Chalon (1519-1544), the only son of Henry III. His possessions, including the palace, were confiscated when he rebelled against his sovereign Philip II (1527-1598) in 1567 and had to flee to Dillenburg Castle. His oldest son and heir, Philip William, who was studying in Louvain, was taken hostage and carried off to Spain. After the assassination of William in 1584, his second son took on the role of opposition leader. Maurice proved a very talented military strategist. Early in his

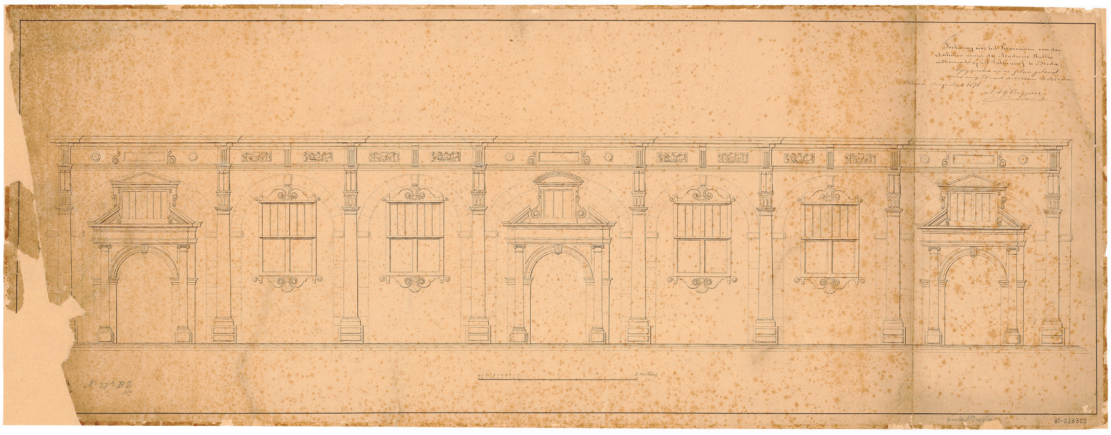


Fig. 4
A.J.H. CUYPERS,
View of the Antique Wall, 1875.
Breda, Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands Collections, object no. BT-026302.

career, his clever tactics enabled him to recapture the city of Breda from the Spanish.[5] After the capture of Breda in 1590 Maurice, with the permission of the States General, managed the possessions of his brother Philip William.[6] From then on, he often stayed in Nassau Palace. However, he was not made a prince because that was Philip William's title.[7] Maurice acted as 'regent and administrator of the domains and goods of his serene and high-born sovereign the Count of Nassau, our brother'.[8]

In 1609 Philip William, by then freed by the Spanish, made a Joyous Entry into Breda with his wife Eleonore of Bourbon-Condé.[9] Thereafter he stayed in the palace in Breda off and on until his death. He extended his possessions in Breda by purchasing the Belcromse Bos, woodland to the north of the palace. In 1618 Philip William left everything he owned to Maurice, who was then allowed to call himself Prince of Orange. The Breda city accounts show that Maurice stayed at the Prinsenhof in the same year.[10]

The Stables as Part of Princely Show

From then on, Maurice was able to truly present himself as a prince. Cultivating a noble position was a customary way of maintaining social differences. Status and prestige were expressed in the whole structure of court life, including the architecture of the palaces and outbuildings.[11] Maurice accomplished this by handing out various building commissions, such as the embellishment and renovation of the Binnenhof and the Buitenhof in The Hague by the Hague master sculptor Adriaen Fredericksz van Oudendijck.[12] He also consolidated the status of the House of Orange in the new Republic by refurbishing and upgrading the existing Orange-Nassau patrimony, devoting particular attention to the possessions in Breda – the basis of his inheritance.[13]

For example, as became a prince, Maurice improved the Belcromse Bos by building a *huijsinge van plaisance* (house of pleasance) with a gallery

Fig. 5
H. SPILMAN and C. PRONK, *Playhouse of the Baron, near Breda*, etching from the Topografisch-Historische Atlas, 1732. Tilburg, B 83 / 820.11 Spee (2). Photo: Tilburg University Library, Brabant-Collectie.

Fig. 6
MELCHIOR VAN HERBACH, *Aviary* [last surviving façade], c. 1620. Breda, the Valkenberg, demolished after the Second World War. Photo: Breda Beeldcollectie, Stadsarchief Breda, object no. GN20160018; KMA, Sectie Genie (probably).

along each floor providing a panoramic view over the zoo he had also had built and beyond (fig. 5).[14] Maurice must have been well aware that it was only a 'Prince oft Heere van auctoriteyt oft macht' (Prince or Lord of authority or might) who was allowed to have a 'Speelhuysen van playsantien', (playhouse of pleasantries) built, as Hans Vredemans de Vries (1527-1609) had stated in the architectural treatise that he wrote on the basis of Vitruvius's work.[15] A separate 'volerije mette twee arcaden', (aviary with two arcades) – or galleries – was also built (fig. 6).[16] Both structures were built by Melchior van Herbach – more of whom later.[17] It is likely that the façade of the stable complex, which was an extension of the aviary, was also constructed during this orgy of building.

The physical presence of the courts, such as Breda and The Hague, the surroundings and arrangement of Maurice's royal household combined to convey the sense of power and stability. Everyone, noble and commoner alike, had a role to play in court life. The household part of the court, for instance, was divided into different departments: the *paneterie* (bakery), the *échansonnerie* (cellar or servery), the *cuisine* (kitchen) and the *écuyerie*.[18] Traditionally the latter – the stables – had an important role in the court. It was not limited to the care and stabling of horses. The messengers and the hunt were also part of its remit. The equerry, the head of this department, was also responsible for the pages. These noble boys received an education at court and were assigned to the stables because a professional association with horses and weapons, attributes of the nobility in their traditional role as a military class, was part of a nobleman's education.[19]

Nonetheless, the role of the warhorse had gradually changed over the course of the early modern period. Equestrian duty was still a crucial part of noble identity, but alongside it grew the significance of the manège horse – the early-modern aristocrat's 'dancing partner' – to express the grace and *sprezzatura* of the courtier.[20] Just as architecture lent lustre and authority to the prince and his entourage, so the horse contributed to the horseman's display of status and power. The horse gave its noble rider a position in which a balance was struck between aloofness and reserve and between accessibility and safety.[21]

Horse-breeding was also a demonstration of a nobleman's special position, enabling him, as it did, to demonstrate that he could create animals that were superb and unique.[22] In Maurice's case, these activities were centred on the princely stud farm at Rijswijk, at a site near Dillenburg Castle and at Liebenscheid, a village on the Rhine.[23] When the prince was in residence in Breda, a number of his favourite horses accompanied him. The stable complex in Breda could accommodate around thirty horses.[24]

The ownership and schooling of horses was one of the most popular and widespread activities of the nobility, comparable to other aristocratic forms of pleasure, such as building up collections of art and rarities. Prince Maurice also amused himself with hobbies like architecture, fencing, cartography and the theory of perspective.[25] Various publications about Renaissance garden art in Maurice's library and the early classical gardens at the Buitenhof, in Vlissingen and in Breda (fig. 2) attest to his decided preference for art in which he could express his love of mathematics.[26] As the architectural historian Ruud Meischke (1923-2010) once said, 'the most monumental stable building [the originally strictly symmetrical garden façade – the Breda Wall] ever built in our country' and the 'garden pavilion' [the house of pleasance] would never have been built but for Maurice's explicit wish.[27]

Melchior van Herbach

From the surviving Nassau family accounts, it appears that Maurice had the Breda palace buildings thoroughly renovated and restored when he took possession of the palace.[28] However large parts of the accounts are missing and the courtyard façade is not mentioned. The wall of the stable complex was probably erected between 1618 and Maurice's death in 1624, the year Breda again fell into the hands of the Spanish. The architectural motifs and details of the Breda Wall are very similar to the work of the master builder Melchior van Herbach, who undertook other work for the prince. This suggestion had already been made – on other grounds – by Meischke: 'The most important building that Maurice built was the octagonal garden pavilion or playhouse at Breda [by Melchior van Herbach] … The monumental façade of the stable complex could date from the same time… The originality of both lies in the main design, not in the detailling.'[29] It is true that the stylistic details of the pavilion (fig. 5) and the courtyard façade of the stable complex have nothing in common. However, based on stylistic comparisons with other works which, like the pavilion, were certainly built by Van Herbach, there are striking similarities.[30] Van Herbach's aviary (fig. 6), for example, is very similar to the courtyard façade incorporated in the Breda Wall (figs. 1, 4).[31] As in the courtyard façade, the builder broke up the surface of the wall with blind brick arches. These arches are filled in with ornamental blind portals in sandstone with triangular pediments, the corners topped off with spherical elements.

Melchior van Herbach had studied under the artistic sphere of influence

of the prominent Amsterdam city architect and sculptor Hendrick de Keyser.[32] De Keyser is regarded as one of the most inventive and creative architects and sculptors in the Low Countries. He developed his own architectural style, rooted in the building style of his Antwerp predecessors Cornelis Floris and Hans Vredemans de Vries and combined this with motifs from Michelangelo's oeuvre.[33] Melchior van Herbach's documented works show clear traces of De Keyser's design idiom, which suggests that he was trained in his circle. It is true that in November 1607 Van Herbach had become a burgher of Amsterdam, probably with the intention of becoming a member of the Bricklayers' Guild, which included stonemasons and sculptors. In any event he was registered as a stonemason in 1613.[34] There are large gaps in the archives of the Amsterdam Bricklayers' Guild so there is nothing to be found about his training. The young Van Herbach and his father, Hans, probably left Antwerp and went to Amsterdam in 1590 or soon afterwards. Hans van Herbach, who was a Protestant, was banished from Antwerp and the Margraviate for life because 'on 24 July 1590 he remained standing with a covered head during the passing of the Holy Sacrament.'[35] Melchior must have been about eleven at that time, because his age was recorded as twenty-nine in the marriage register when he married Maria van den Berge in 1608.[36]

Soon after he arrived in Amsterdam, Melchior must have become apprenticed to a master who trained him in 'stone carving, making likenesses and all the ornaments that a stonemason requires for his trade'.[37] Earlier authors suggest that Van Herbach was recommended to the Amsterdam city stoneyard by Prince Philip William, but this does not appear to be borne out by the surviving source material. The earliest mention of Van Herbach in Breda is in 1614.[38] It is far more likely that there was a relationship between De Keyser and Van Herbach, because he was trained in his stone-yard or because he had been trained in one of the Amsterdam construction workshops, which worked in the style of the city's master builder.[39] De Keyser had acquired an almost supreme position through his appointment as head of the Amsterdam construction business, which he shared with a handful of other families of stonemasons and sculptors, most of whom were closely related.[40] This gave rise to a fairly uniform building style, which would be described later as 'school of', 'in imitation of' or 'in the style of' Hendrick de Keyser. The growth of the city generated an enormous amount of work, which required a great many workmen. Countless young men were attracted to Amsterdam from far afield to train as builders, stonemasons and sculptors.[41] However, De Keyser could not possibly have trained all the aspiring stonemasons and sculptors who came from elsewhere himself. It was probably difficult for young masters like Melchior van Herbach, who had trained in Amsterdam but were not part of this clique, to open their own workshops. The Amsterdam sculptor families had a cosy network of family relationships with established suppliers for the types of stone they needed, so there was no room for newcomers. They would often have moved away in search of work, to places where the competition was not as fierce and where the 'Amsterdam building style' had yet to take root. Van Herbach is not mentioned as an apprentice master in the records of the students in the Amsterdam Bricklayers' Guild dating from 1610 to 1622.[42] As a master mason, he may have initially worked as an assistant in the workshop of another master. Nevertheless, the first documented commissions he was given suggest that he must have been operating independently around 1614. The fact is that the 'Amsterdam style' was

Fig. 7
J.A. CRESCENT,
Frisian Inner Gate,
1809.
Alkmaar,
Regional Archives,
inv. no. PR 1004221.

Fig. 8
Recycled fragments
from 16 Koorstraat,
Alkmaar, c. 1615.
Photo: Piet
Verhoeven, former
Head of the
Monument
Conservation and
Archaeology
Department, Alkmaar.

so popular that Van Herbach was easily able to work elsewhere, first in nearby Alkmaar, and soon further south, in Bruges and Breda.[43]

Van Herbach the Architect

In December 1614 Van Herbach supplied a design for 'de vriessche poort' of Alkmaar. The receipt does not specify whether it was for the inner or the outer gate. In the early twentieth century the Alkmaar city archivist C.W. Bruinvis stated that 'it could not have referred to the medieval, castle-shaped Frisian outer gate erected in 1616/17'.[44] It must therefore refer to the superstructure of the inner Frisian gate built in 1588/89, which, however, does not yet feature on the map of Alkmaar after a 1597 drawing by Adriaen Anthonisz.[45] This inner gate was demolished in 1802, but was

Fig. 9
MELCHIOR VAN HERBACH, *Gate of the Vleeshal*, Breda, 1614. Glass negative: G. de Hoog, Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands, object no. 201, Adlib priref 20040114

drawn by J.A. Crescent shortly before it was pulled down (fig. 7). The curved sandstone spandrels above the cross windows of the superstructure of this gate are strongly reminiscent of those of the town hall in Klundert, a building also designed by Van Herbach (see below). We find similar arch fillings above and underneath the windows of the Breda Wall.

In the same article, Bruinvis linked Van Herbach to a building in Koorstraat in Alkmaar, which was built in the first quarter of the seventeenth century for Frederick van Houtman. In Bruinvis's time the Stedelijk Museum had a number of spandrels from this building, in which the author thought he could see a design by Van Herbach. During the twentieth century the fragments were transferred to the 'monuments shed' in Alkmaar. The spandrels Bruinvis referred to have not been found. Twenty years ago, other fragments of this building (fig. 8) were reused in another building and do indeed display the style characteristics of that period – with stylized heads covered in curls – although it is difficult to attribute the building to Van Herbach merely on the basis of these two fragments which, moreover, were painted.[46]

In 1614, Melchior van Herbach was also commissioned to make 'a beautiful gate of white stone with windows, ledges and alternating courses of brickwork for the ground floor of the meat market' in Breda (fig. 9).[47] The following year, Van Herbach, 'stonemason of this city', was paid 660 Rhenish guilders to complete the gate, a job he 'had accepted orally from a certain patron'.[48] The wording makes it clear that he was

already living in Breda at that time. The pediment with the descending pair of lions in the design of the gate of the Vleeshal is very reminiscent of the outside of the demolished Amsterdam Haarlemmerpoort built of 'Blaeuwen-oorduyn-steen' (fig. 10).[49] The design of the side of the Haarlemmerpoort facing the city (fig. 11) was similar to the other side, but like the Vleeshal in Breda, was a little 'more delicate', according to the author of *Architectura Moderna*, because the heavy rustic work had been omitted, 'and so it is much more graceful'.[50] The Haarlemmerpoort was built to Hendrick de Keyser's design. The first stone was laid in 1615 and the gate was completed in 1618.[51] In 1631 the engravings shown here of the inner and outer gates were illustrated in *Architectura Moderna*, a publication of the contemporary architecture by Hendrick de Keyser and Cornelis Danckerts that had been built in Holland. The engravings were used as sources of inspiration all over the Low Countries and Europe. The fact that Van Herbach had already produced a design that was so similar to De Keyser's many years before the publication of this book, and a year before the first stone of the Haarlemmerpoort was laid, strongly suggests that Van Herbach was trained by De Keyser himself.

It is in his decoration of the Vleeshal gate that Van Herbach seems to have been more creative than his fellow sculptors. Lieven de Key and Hendrick Swaef used the conventional and appropriate iconography of bulls' heads on the meat markets in Haarlem and Delft respectively. Although this motif was also the starting point for Van Herbach's Vleeshal in Breda, he decorated the horns of the cattle with garlands of sausages (fig. 12). It appears to be an amusing and contemporary twist on a motif from classical antiquity, which he may have known from a print of a classical relief or of a classical example by Italian architects such as

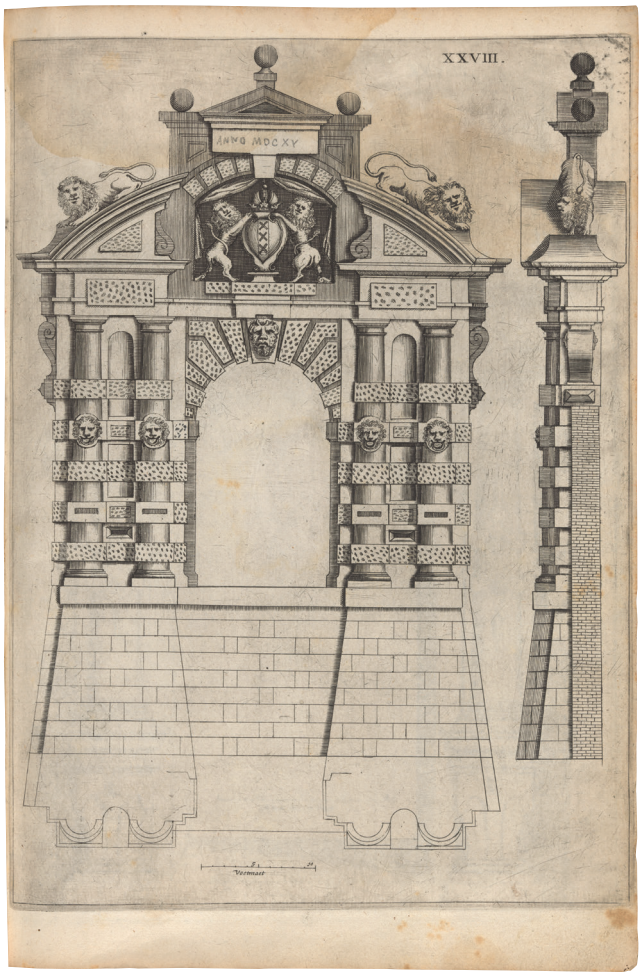


Fig. 10
Outside of the Amsterdam Haarlemmerpoort, pl. XXVIII from Cornelis Danckerts van Seevenhove, *Architectura Moderna ofte Bouwinge van onsen tyt*, Amsterdam 1631 [published 1640]. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Research Library, 302 B 13.

Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola and Sebastiano Serlio, who both wrote important and extensive architectural treatises.[52] In Northern Europe, the classical ornaments, grotesques and serpentine acanthus leaves adopted from Italy were easily integrated into the elaborate and playfully decorative patterns of the then modern Gothic style. Stonemasons and sculptors combined these antique and modern forms at will.[53]

Inventions like these were used to indicate the status of the occupant or the function of the building, by giving it the right degree of decorum.[54] Decorated ox skulls or *bucrania*, as seen in the reliefs of the Breda Wall (fig. 13)

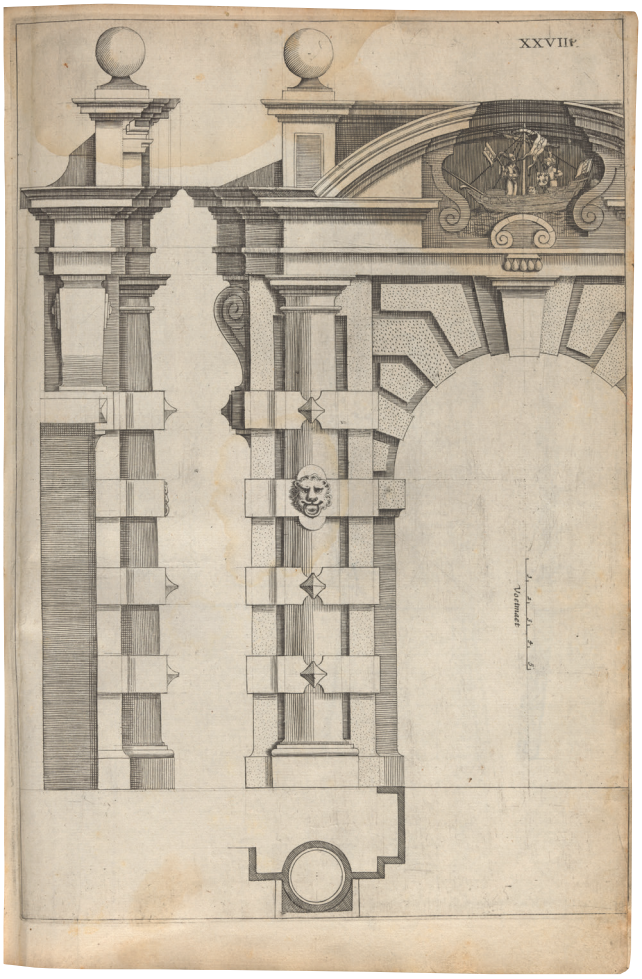


Fig. 11
Inside of the Amsterdam Haarlemmerpoort, pl. xxvii from Cornelis Danckerts van Seevenhove, *Architectura Moderna ofte Bouwinge van onsen tyt*, Amsterdam 1631 [published 1640]. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Research Library, 302 B 13.

^ *Fig. 12*
MELCHIOR VAN HERBACH, bull's head with garlands of sausages, detail from *Vleeshal* (fig. 9).

v *Fig. 13*
Trophy of arms and *bucranium*, detail from *The Breda Wall* (fig. 1).
Photo: Rijksmuseum.

had the same classical origin, but on the courtyard façade of the stable complex would have had nothing to do with the original meaning on classical temples.[55] However the sculptor appears to have played a joke with the horns, as in the gate of the Vleeshal: they are decorated like cornucopia – horns of plenty. Other reliefs on the Breda Wall, with trophies of arms, clusters of assorted weapons and implements used in hunting (fig. 13), were certainly fitting ornaments for a wall of the stable complex. Fighting and hunting, after all, were activities facilitated by the court's stables.[56]

Melchior van Herbach remained active in West Brabant, as is evident from the town hall in Klundert which he built in 1621 (fig. 14). The arch fillings above the first-floor windows of the town hall in Klundert were also once associated with Hendrick de Keyser.[57] It is precisely this motif, which Van Herbach had previously used on the Frisian Gate in Alkmaar and also recurs on the door frame of the courtyard wall of the Nassau stable complex, that is an additional argument for attributing this façade in the Rijksmuseum to Melchior van Herbach.

The Last Work in Breda?

When Van Herbach completed the gate of the Breda Vleeshal, the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-21), which had been agreed some years before, meant that peace had returned to the South. As the seat of the old court, Breda still had a certain power of attraction. Although the princes did not stay at the court continually in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, a large number of court functionaries and officials continued to live in the city. Many nobles and prominent citizens associated with the Orange Court had had mansions or aristocrats' dwellings built there since the sixteenth century, so there was plenty of work for an

Fig. 14
MELCHIOR VAN HERBACH, *Town Hall*, Klundert, 1621. Photo: Bert Knot.

ambitious architect and sculptor. Huis Renesse, which was given to Wijnand van Maschereel, Bailiff of Breda, by Henry III in 1514, is one of the early examples. In 1529 the building was owned by Frederik van Renesse, from whom it gets its name. Van Renesse was a page at the court of Engelbert II of Nassau in Brussels and Van Maschereel's successor in office.[58]

In the early sixteenth century, the buildings at present-day numbers 18 and 20 Catharinastraat were renovated and occupied by one of Henry III's courtiers. The complex later came into the possession of the widow of Alexis of Nassau (1506/11-1550), Lord of Corroy and illegitimate son of Henry III.[59] Around 1620 a lavish garden gate was added to this house, which is likewise related to Melchior van Herbach's style (fig.15).[60] However, the gate has a more pronounced character than the works referred to earlier. Where the other structures are more subtle, the robust sandstone gate is topped with auricular motifs and an *all'antica* bust displayed in an *oeil de boeuf* window. If the attribution is correct, this is the only known bust in Van Herbach's sculpted oeuvre. This fact makes it difficult to compare this to his other work, although the bust's hair and beard are reminiscent of the manes of the lions on the gate of the Breda Vleeshal.

The last evidence of Van Herbach in Breda dates from April 1624, when he is referred to in a document as ''s heeren architect ende steenhouwer' (his lords' architect and sculptor of this city).[61] He had evidently made his mark by then. The description suggests that he was the most important architect in Breda. This will undoubtedly have resulted in important commissions for him in Brabant. The only reasonable conclusion is that the Breda Wall, which once formed the façade of his lords' stable complex and is so closely related stylistically to the Amsterdam architectural style of that period, must be attributed to the Amsterdam-trained Melchior van Herbach.

Fig. 15
MELCHIOR VAN HERBACH (?), *Garden Gate*, 18-20 Catharinastraat, Breda, c. 1620. Photo: Breda Beeldcollectie, Stadsarchief Breda, object no. JVG19990929102; BN/De Stem, Johan van Gurp.

ABSTRACT

The early seventeenth century Breda Wall in the Philips Wing of the Rijksmuseum takes its name from the origin of the bottom part of the wall: one of the façades of the stable complex of the former Nassau Palace in Breda. In the article the wall is attributed to the architect Melchior van Herbach on stylistic grounds, with indirect proof. Van Herbach began his career in Amsterdam in Hendrick de Keyser's sphere of influence. He worked in Alkmaar and Bruges before settling in Breda, where he became Prince Maurice's architect and master builder.

NOTES

1 The restoration of the Breda Wall was made possible with support from the American Express Foundation and undertaken by Van Hoogevest Architecten.

2 'Sulcx dat overmits diversche timmeringen van kercken ende huysen die de Bagijnen gedaen hebben onse voorschr. slot in tijde van oorloghen ende tweedrachten … daerbij in grooten perijckel commen mochten'. Jan Kalf, *De monumenten in de voormalige baronie van Breda*, Arnhem 1973 (2nd ed.), p. 53.

3 The fact that Vorstius held offices in North Italy as well as in Breda was commonplace at that time and was called *prebende sine cura* ('sinecure'). The office in Breda provided Vorstius with an extra income and he outsourced the work involved. In his dual role Vorstius was sent to the north by the Pope in 1536 to approach both Catholic and Protestant rulers to cooperate in a general council. Gerard van Wezel, *De Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk en de grafkapel voor Oranje-Nassau te Breda*, Zeist/Zwolle 1999, p. 152; Valentijn Paquay, 'Den Bosch in zicht (11). De stad in de ogen van erudite passanten', *Bossche Bladen* 12 (2010), p. 39. A.J.A. Bijsterveld, *Laverend tussen kerk en wereld: de pastoors in Noord-Brabant 1400-1570,* Amsterdam 1993, appendices.

4 Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum [BHIC], 343.1990 P.W. Schonck, *Platte Grond van Zijne Hoogheids Stallen, Koetshuys, Kaatsbaan, Tuynierswoning en verder Logement te Breda,* Breda (?) 1768. For a detailed reconstruction of the complex see R. Agasi, *Reconstructie van de Nassaustallen,* Breda 2013, p. 6.

5 Van Wezel 1999 (note 3), pp. 12-13. J.F. Grosfeld, W. Klinkert and J.P. Meeuwisse (eds.), *Het Turfschip van Breda 1590-1990*, Breda 1990.

6 C.M. van der Kemp, *Maurits van Nassau, prins van Oranje, in zijn leven, waardigheden en verdiensten*, Rotterdam 1843, pp. 120-22.

7 He was allowed to title himself 'Maurits, *geboren* Prins van Oranje, graaf van Nassau…' (Maurice, born Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau) Simon Groenveld, 'De man met de loden schoenen. Een levensschets', in Kees Zandvliet (ed.), *Maurits Prins van Oranje,* exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 2000, p. 19.

8 'regent en administrateur van de heerlijkheden en goederen van den doorluchtigen en hooggeboren vorst den Grave Nassau onze broeder.' J.M. Roest van Limburg, *Het kasteel van Breda. Aanteekeningen betreffende het voormalig Prinsenhof te Breda,* Schiedam 1903, p. 128; Groenveld 2000 (note 7), p. 19.

9 Philip William had been a free man since 1596, but because he had been taken hostage by Philip II at the age of thirteen and had since remained in Spain, he was more identified with the Spanish cause than with the Republic's, and he was not welcome in the Republic until after the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609. Groenveld 2000 (note 7), p. 26; Roest van Limburg 1903 (note 8), pp. 133-34.

10 Roest van Limburg 1903 (note 8), pp. 137-38.

11 Norbert Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft: Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie: mit einer Einleitung, Soziologie und Geschichtswissenschaft*, Frankfurt am Main 2002, p. 98. See Jeroen Duindam, *Myths of Power*, Amsterdam 1994, pp. 14, 16. A.G. Dickens, *The Courts of Europe*, New York 1976, p. 7.

12 Annemie de Vos, 'Hof van Den Haag en hof van Brussel (1590-1630)', *Bulletin KNOB* 98 (1999), pp. 198-213, esp. pp. 204-05; Annemie de Vos, 'Propaganda voor Staat en Huis. Maurits en de bouwkunst', in Zandvliet 2000 (note 7), p. 124.

13 De Vos 2000 (note 12), p. 136.

14 R. Meischke, 'Het Mauritshuis te Willemstad', *Bouwen in Nederland. Vijfentwintig opstellen over Nederlandse architectuur opgedragen aan Prof. Ir. J.J. Terwen*, Delft 1985 (*Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 3), pp. 265-94, esp. pp. 267-68.

15 Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Architectura. De oorden Tuschana, in tween ghedeylt in XII. stucken, bequaem en nutteliick voor alle ingenieuse bouwers, als metsers, steenhouwers ende andere liefhebbers der antiquer architecturen. Gheinventeert ende ghemaect naer de leeringhe Vitruvii*, Antwerpen 1577. See also Dieter A. Nuyten, 'Architectural and Technical Examples: Between Antique Modernity and Gothic Tradition', in Piet Lombaerde (ed.), *Hans Vredeman de Vries and the Artes Mechanicae Revisited*, Turnhout 2005, p. 47.

16 This aviary was rebuilt by the KMA before the Second World war and demolished after the war, Agasi 2013 (note 4), p. 20.

17 Vos 2000 (note 12), p. 130; Thomas Ernst van Goor, *Beschryving der Stad en Lande van Breda, Behelzende de Oudheid van het Graafschap Stryen, deszelfs eerste Bewoonderen, en oude Gestalte, met een historisch Verhael van het Leven der Graven van Stryen, en daar op gevolgde Heeren van*

Breda, The Hague 1744, p. 63; The Hague, National Archives, Nassause Domeinraden (NaDo), inv. no. 8414: 'Rekeningen van de rentmeesters van de domeinen van de stad, land en baronie van Breda (1621)', fol. CXIX v. Amsterdam, City Archives Amsterdam (CAA), DTB 413, p. 261; Breda, City Archives Breda (CAB), Vestbrieven 1624-25, fol. 74r, 74v; idem, Vestbrieven 1638-39, fol. 218v.

18 The Breda royal household was constructed along the lines of the Burgundian example. This was swallowed up by the Habsburg Empire after the death of Philip the Handsome. Engelbert II, Henry III, René of Chalon and William of Orange were important councillors of respectively Philip I, Charles V and Philip II. Maurice's royal household was formed along the lines of that of his father William. Marie-Ange Delen, *Het hof van Willem van Oranje*, Amsterdam 2002, p. 43.

19 Ibid., pp. 24, 40.

20 Treva J. Tucker, *From Destrier to Danceur: The Role of the Horse in Early Modern French Noble Identity*, Los Angeles 2007 (unpublished dissertation, University of Southern California); K. Raber and T. Tucker (eds.), *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, New York 2010.

21 Paul Robbert Rijkens, *Nassau on Horseback: Meaning, Form and Function of Nassau Equestrian Imagery in the Netherlands since the 16th Century,* Amsterdam 2015, pp. 9-10.

22 Pia F. Cuneo, *Animals and Early Modern Identity*, Farnham, Surrey/Burlington (VT), 2014, p. 110.

23 Exh. cat. Amsterdam 2000 (note 7), p. 306.

24 Agasi 2013 (note 4), p. 13.

25 Wouter Kloek, 'Prins Maurits en de beelden kunst', in Zandvliet 2000 (note 7), pp. 139-59 and catalogue pp. 305-35. Cuneo 2014 (note 22), pp. 109-10.

26 Exh. cat. Amsterdam 2000 (note 7), p. 305. The classical ground rules of symmetry and harmony, 'the symbols of the aspirations of the Republic', were materialized by Jacques de Gheyn II in the layout of the Prinsentuin in The Hague. De Vos 2000 (note 12), p. 125; Vanessa Sellers-Bezemer, *Courtly Gardens in Holland 1600-1650. The House of Orange and the Hortus Batavus*, Amsterdam/Woodbridge 2001, pp. 131-42.

27 Meischke 1985 (note 14), pp. 267-68.

28 From 1584 onwards, the stewardship of the vast estates of the Orange-Nassau family was entrusted to a specially created administrative body, De Nassause Domeinraad. The organization of the court works was the responsibility of the local land agent, who usually used local tradesmen to carry out certain jobs. The turbulent war years and the relocation of the Domeinraad from Breda to The Hague means that there are only fragments from the earliest period. The surviving archives are in the National Archives in The Hague. M.C.J.C. van Hoof, E.A.T.M. Schreuder and B.J. Slot, *Inventaris van het archief van de Nassause Domeinraad*, (1218) 1581-1811 (1842).

29 'Het belangrijkste bouwwerk dat Maurits liet bouwen, was het achtkante tuinpaviljoen of speelhuis te Breda … Uit dezelfde tijd als het speelhuis zou de monumentale gevel van het stallencomplex kunnen dateren… Het originele van beide ligt in de hoofdopzet, niet in de detaillering.' Meischke 1985 (note 14), p. 267-68.

30 For the commission for the building of a pavilion: NaDo 8414 (note 17), cap. 14, fols. CXIXV

31 Ibid., cap. 12, fols. CLCCCIIIIJV-CXCVIV. The aviary was knocked down after the Second World War. Agasi 2013 (note 4), p. 20.

32 Konrad Ottenheym, 'Sculptors' Architecture: The International Scope of Cornelis Floris and Hendrick de Keyser', in Konrad Ottenheym and Krista De Jonge (eds.), *The Low Countries at the Crossroads: Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480-1680),* Turnhout 2013, pp. 103-28, esp. p. 119; CAA (note 17), 2e Groot Memorial, fol. 170v.

33 Ottenheym 2013 (note 34), p. 120.

34 CAA (note 17), inv. no. 366, no. 1351. Only masters were registered in the guilds. Assistants and pupils were not members of guilds.

35 'op 24 juli 1590 met gedekte hoofde bleef staan in het voorbijgaan van het Heilige Sacrament.' Floris Prims, 'Beelden uit den cultuurstrijd II', *Antwerpiensia* 16 (1943), p. 395. In 1595 Hans van Herbach of Antwerp, diamond cutter and widower, married Tanneke Braems, and according to the marriage register married again five years later in Amsterdam to Barbertje Heinrics; CAA (note 17), DTB 407, p. 300. In 1616 Melchior is named in a document as the son of 'wijlen (the late) Hans van Herbach'. CAB, Vestbrieven 1616, fol. 34r.

36 CAA (note 17), DTB 413, p. 261

37 'het steenhouwen, contrefeyten ende alle cyraet te maeken, gelyck een steenhouwer tot synder neeringhe nodich ende van doen

heeft.' Although this refers to the contract between Hendrick de Keyser and his pupil Hendrick Jansz, Melchior and his teacher would have had a similar contract. CAA (note 17), NA 47, nots. Lieven Heylinck, fol. 128, 13 April 1595. See Ottenheym 2013 (note 32), p. 121, note 69.

38 F.A.J. Vermeulen, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche bouwkunst*, The Hague 1931, p. 299. De Vos 2000 (note 12), p. 125.

39 For a detailed description of the city yard: Ruud Meischke, 'Het Amsterdamse fabrieksambt van 1595-1625', *Bulletin KNOB* 3 (1994), pp. 100-22.

40 Frits Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Tomb Sculpture*, Zwolle 2003, p. 52, note 165.

41 In addition to the works for the city, city sculptor Hendrick de Keyser was allowed to accept commissions from elsewhere. However, he was not allowed to employ anyone who worked at the city yard. De Keyser therefore also had a private workshop. Ottenheym 2013 (note 32), p. 121.

42 CAA (note 17), inv. no. 366, no. 1349.

43 A document in Breda's city archives refers to a letter drawn up in Bruges that shows that in 1614 a certain Leenaert Cornelis (possibly the bricklayer who demolished the old gate of the Breda Vleeshal (meat market) and built the new one, see Kalf 1973 (note 3), p. 163) had an annuity to sell to the highest bidder. He was a debtor of Melchior van Herbach. This implies that Melchior van Herbach was in Bruges in 1614. CAB (note 17), Vestbrieven 1616, fol. 34r. With many thanks to Tom van der Molen for transcribing the Breda sources. Recently Dirk-Jan de Vries described the similar career path of Gerrit Lambertsz from Culemborg who trained in Amsterdam and who went first to Kampen and then to Zwolle and built up a considerable oeuvre there. Dirk-Jan de Vries, 'Uit de schaduw van Hendrick de Keyser: Gerrit Lambertsen van Cuilenborch (1597-1657)', *Bulletin KNOB* 113 (2016), no. 2, pp. 57-79.

44 'Ick ondergescreuen bekenne ontfangen te hebben vuyt handen van BORRLT HLENDRLCSEN [sic] fabrijemeester van weegen MELCHIOR VAN [sic] Harsbeeck die somme van vierentwijntich gulden ter cause van sekere patroenen die Melchior gemaect heeft tot dienste van die stadt vandie vriessche poort doer last van de heeren burgemeesteren des oerconde dese onderteyekent op den vierentwijntichsten decembris sestien hondert vierthien. Bij mie Jacob Jansz.' C.W. Bruinvis, 'Melchior van Harbach', *Oud Holland* 26 (1908), no. 3, pp. 203-04. Bruinvis does not say where the receipt was found.

45 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1939-1428.

46 It could be 16 Koorstraat, the former Stadsbank van Lening; the French School was established there prior to that. Bruinvis mentioned photographs (possibly Alkmaar, Alkmaar Regional Archives, inv. no. FO 1001658) of it from before the renovation of 1877, in which a section of the original frontage can still be seen. In the nineteen-eighties, the fragments were incorporated into the rear wall of 11 Pieterstraat, visible from the Kaarsemakersgracht. Bruinvis 1908 (note 44), p. 204. With thanks to Christi Klinkert (Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar), Henk Krabbendam (Monumentenloods Alkmaar) and Piet Verhoeven (former head of the Monumentenzorg) for tracing these fragments.

47 'eene heerlicke poorte van witte steen met cosijnen, rychels ende specklagen voirde eerste verdiepinge aan de vleeschhalle'. Kalf 1973 (note 3), p. 163.

48 'mondeling op zeker patroon aengenomen hadde'; ibid.

49 Salomon de Bray, *Architectura Moderna ofte bouwinge van onsen tyt* (ed. E. Taverne), Soest 1971 (facsimile of the Amsterdam 1631 publication), p. 16.

50 'en vermitdts zyne witheydt veel bevallijcker. Ibid., p. 17

51 Koen Ottenheym, Paul Rosenberg and Niek Smit, *Hendrick de Keyser. Architectura Moderna. Moderne bouwkunst in Amsterdam 1600-1625,* Amsterdam 2008, p. 73.

52 In Vienna there is a sacrificial bull whose horns are decorated with spherical garlands. *Sacrificial Bull,* Roman, 1st century AD, marble. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 1805.

53 Konrad Ottenheym and Krista De Jonge (eds.), *The Low Countries at the Crossroads: Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480-1680)*, Turnhout 2013, p. 27, note 75.

54 Ibid., p. 27.

55 The *bucrania* which decorate the Breda Wall appear to have been taken directly from an example by the Italian humanist Biondo. Flavio Biondo, *Roma triumphans* (c. 1473-75), book 1; Italian translation 1544, fol. 25-25v, see Phyllis P. Bober and Ruth O. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources*, London 2010 (2nd ed.), cat. no. 193, fig. 193b.

56 Delen 2002 (note 18), pp. 24, 40.
57 Ibid., p. 299.
58 D.C.J. Mijnssen, 'De Huize Van Elderen te Breda', *Oranjeboom* 3 (1950), pp. 19, 21. See also M.A. van Nieukerken and E.J. Haslinghuis, 'De Bouwwerken en bouwkunst in Breda van het midden der XIVe tot dat der XVIe eeuw', in D. T. Enklaar et al., *Geschiedenis van Breda*, vol. 1, Breda 1976, pp. 268-70.
59 Esther Vink, *Breda en de Nassaus, 1404-2004. Ter herdenking aan zeshonderd jaar Nassaus in Breda*, Breda 2004, p. 38.
60 'Beelden uit Breda. Het poortje boven Catharinastraat 18', BN/*De Stem*, 29 January 2000.
61 ''s heeren architect ende steenhouwer alhijer', CAB (note 17), Vestbrieven 1624-25, fol. 74r, 74v. In 1639 Maeijken van den Berch is recorded as the widow of the late Melchior van Herbach (ibid. Vestbrieven 1638 – 1639, fol. 218v.). There is no burial certificate for him in Breda: after 1624 he possibly worked elsewhere and died there.